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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

*This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurí is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbuawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Wathariwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbuawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uarutéwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Wathariwa A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

Urérariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaúpés. Their first Ancient was *Buü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

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day the *Borôwa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mɨdhamɨ́tɨwu yawáwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwɨntɨwũ – the people came out
tcúntcawwa – and shed (their anaconda skins)
hahádami – they went forward
waré borikapindo – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opéko tamána – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
emintakori – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
kanúrũbo – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwũhũrũkũwũ – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
byátakwe – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
opéko tawá – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pudnwa – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
waokún – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An underorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power